1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

parations are then made for the bridegroom to eat *lahahaur*, the food prepared especially for the occasion. This may be of several types. It is sometimes said to consist of rice, pulse, *puris* and *bara*; and again of milk, rice and sugar. This is brought by a female member of the family, the *sarhaj* (bride's brother's wife) being preferred. Before the boy is asked to eat the *lahahaur* two women dressed in dancing garments make their appearance; they sing and dance and are accompanied by some men with their drums. This party advances towards the *janmasa* singing songs which contain many questionable allusions and are considered as *gali* (abuse). They carry the emptied *kalsa* with the lighted lamp still on top of it, and place it before the boy who is asked to go around it seven times and sit down. When he has done this the *sarhaj* tries to make him eat the *lahahaur*; she brings it up to his mouth five times in her right hand and after smelling it as many times he refuses to eat. She is paid four annas for this by the boy's father. There is more singing and the giving of *gali* by both sides. Finally the *sarhaj* brings a *lota* of water and washes the feet of the members of the boy's party and at the same time openly counts them so that they may know how many will need food. Much of this food has already been cooked but it is not served till midnight or later. In the meantime, during the meal, and even for the rest of the night, there are songs and the *dadra* dance.

About eleven o'clock the next morning the members of the bridegroom's party take their morning meal at the bride's house, but the groom stays by himself in the *janmasa* where his food is brought to him. When the others arrive their feet are washed as before and each member is given a *lota* of water so that he may wash his hands. The male members of the two parties always eat together first and the meal is usually served on leaf-plates, or, if they are available, brass ones. The men then go for a chat and rest and sometime later the women take their food. At no time do the men and women eat together.

(*b*) *Sadi*. The Actual Ceremony. The evening of the second day sees the performance of the marriage proper, the *sadi*. The premises of the girl's house are again plastered and all made clean and ready. The Brahmin priest who wrote the *lagan* is expected to arrive after nightfall. If the family should decide to dispense with his services the part of the priest may be taken by the *phupha* (father's sister's husband). The priest first marks out a square, called the *chauk*, on the plastered portion of the courtyard not far from the wedding booth, using whole wheat flour to mark the lines. A *kalsa* is then placed at its centre into which will be thrown the gifts for the

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

585 follow the *sadi*, but more often a period of several years separates the
[582] two. The girl should be between ten and twelve and the boy between twelve and fifteen before the *gauna* ceremony can be performed. The exact time depends upon the *pandit* and upon auspicious days and seasons.

When the time for the *gauna* has come a large party carrying the bridegroom in a *palki* leaves the boy's home much in the same manner as they departed for the *sadi*. The boy's party is once more welcomed but the ceremony is not quite so elaborate as it was before. On the second night the Brahmin may be called in, though not always, and the remaining two circumambulations (*bhauwars*) of the fire are made. This time, however, there is no *markwa* nor *magrohan*. The
[237] place where the final ceremony is performed is simply plastered and in the centre of the spot is set up a low mound made of cow dung; beside it is placed a *kachha kalsa* (an earthen pot not yet fired), on top of which is a brass plate contalning (1) a *dip* burning with *ghi*, (2) *sendur* paste, and (3) a whole cocoanut. The couple are tied together as before and go round the fire twice, thus completing the seven rounds
[574] in all. This makes the marriage *pakka* and the final ceremony is
[533] followed by feasting, singing and dancing which last the rest of the
[535] night.

Sometime during the next day the couple depart for the boy's home. They are tied together and seat themselves in the same *palki* which the bearers carry a few yards and then set down while the knot is untied and the bridegroom gets out leaving the *palki* for the bride. He either gets into another one or joins the party on foot. Just before this party, which now consists of the group that went with him, reinforced by men from the girl's home, arrives at the boy's house the *palki* is set down, the boy again gets into it, and the knot is once more tied. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over them and pice are waved over the bearers who are again presented with the coins. Upon arriving at the house the couple find a new cloth five yards long and a yard wide spread on the ground leading from the path to the door of the groom's house and at one end of this the *palki* is put down. As the bride is about to get out she is presented with a tray of balls made of water and whole wheat flour. At each step she must deposit one on the cloth at her feet. Her husband follows, for he is still tied to her and as he comes he must pick up the balls and put them into a small *thali* (tray). Inside the house the knot is untied for the last time.
[262] From the *palki* the women bring a seer or two of uncooked rice along with a few other supplies including pulse, which the bride had brought with her in order that she might prepare a dish known as *khichri*, a

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

796 The ninth day is the final day of the *Jawara* festival. The
787 greenish-yellowish wheat can now be brought out and something foretold, in the case of the Fall festival, about the coming crop. If the wheat has grown nicely, in spite of the fact that it has been kept indoors, and in addition frequently covered by a basket, it is a sign that there will be a good crop of wheat. If the growth of the *jawara* is poor, the crop will likely be a poor one. The process appears to
[789] have an element of magic in it and is used as a method to secure good crops; for the earth is first well manured and then well cared for and watered. Frazer in his series, "The Golden Bough", has found a similar ritual elsewhere which he calls "The Garden of Adonis."[1]

The growing wheat cannot be taken out before the late afternoon. When the time comes to take it out, some animals are sacrificed at the village shrine, there is singing and dancing and probably there will
[402] be a *bawa* with Shardamai as the deity possessing the devotee. The procession is formed at the shrine, and the women carry the plants on their heads to the river or tank where the stalks are immersed.
[789] The men folk follow a short distance behind and loudly beat their drums to frighten away any evil influences. The women sing songs
[533] of the *bhagat* type and there may be some *bawas* as well, and the de-
[785] votee has a trident stuck into his tongue or cheek. Upon reaching the place where the wheat will be "cooled", the women enter the water, and wash away the earth from the roots of the plants. The earthenware vessels are thrown away, and the stalks are retained. Most of
[431] them, though not all, are brought back and distributed to friends as
[627] a mark of goodwill. They receive from others as well as give. All enmities should be healed.

796 That evening there is a feast at the village shrine. The Kols
574 gather by *kurhis* and the animals sacrificed are eaten along with other foods; there is more music and songs and perhaps some more *bawas*. Sometimes the animals are not sacrificed until the procession bringing the stalks of wheat, returns from the tank.

796 *Khajleniya*. This is another term for the Jawara festival and refers especially to the activities of the ninth day, and the part the women play in carrying the wheat stalks. It is therefore spoken of
[857] by some Kols as a woman's festival. Along with it there are certain
[533] activities for the children. Two sticks are set up to represent a man
[535] and a woman, and they dance about the sticks and sing some marriage songs. There is also a test of balance, and a long bamboo pole is
[526] placed on the ground, and the boys and girls try to see if they can

1. Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I., p. 236 ff.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XIX.

291
534
535

291
535

A Koi woman dances the Dadra to the beat of the Dholak and Timakia.
Note the snapping of the Fingers.

[Facing p. 221]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 *Kya jano maya sukhi ke khanewale.*
Garewa bhaias apa ke liye—garewa ke ghalana,
Kya jano lumari ke pinewale.
Biriya banaewa apa ke liya—biriya ruchana,
Kya jano mayapatta ke khanewale.
Seja bichhaonwa apa ke liya—sejiya sona,
Kya jano gudri ke sonewale.

O dwellers in jungle, what do you know of singing and music?
I have cooked for you,—but how poor you make it out, for you have dry food always.
I have water ready for you,—but alas, will it please you? You who drink water from gourds?
Pan is ready too,—but you who use the leaves of the forest, can you enjoy this tender treat?
A bed is ready for you,—but tell me true:
How will you ever rest on such, O sleepers on rags!

● 535 DANCES. Dancing is found in connection with all happy occasions: births, weddings, feasts and festivals, but among the Kols it is only the women who dance. The men play and sing, but it is universally claimed that they never dance; it is considered effeminate [462 562] to do so, for eunuchs dance, and since Kols are men they should not dance. In other groups among whom the Kols live, such as the Gonds and even the outcaste groups, the men-folk dance.

There is one main type of dance among Kols called by the same name as the songs that are sung with it: the *dadra*. There are various forms of this dance, differing somewhat in rhythm and also in movement. To the casual observer they look almost the same, but to the Kol there are real differences. The *purani chal* and the [578] *shaitani* are forms of the *dadra*. The word *shaitani* is literally 'satanic' or 'devilish' and in this form the words sung are very abusive [583] and suggestive. On the occasion of such a dance with its accompanying songs, youths and maidens often elope.

[177] The famous *karma* dance of the Gonds, in which both men and women participate, is not danced by the Kols, though they know of [114] it and have often watched it. Russell and Hiralal however, claim that the Kols dance it.[1]

1 *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 317.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Dancing is invariably accompanied by singing and drumming. [535]
Liquor is often consumed in connection with it, and in one place, when [533]
seeking to see a dance, we were told that they would give an exhibition [272]
only if we bought them some liquor. The intoxicated state also [583]
leads aid to elopement.

The *dadra* dance is the most popular and most Kol dances are purely *dadras*. On such an occasion the men first gather around in the evening and sing and play for an hour or so. Finally a few women, [292]
one to six in number, put on the dancing costume over their *saris*, for without this they will not dance. This costume consists of two pieces: a red and yellow *lahanga*, which is like a dress made of many folds and is tied at the top so that the bottom just sweeps the ground, leaving the feet barely visible. The head is covered with the second portion, the *chunariya*, a shawl made of the same material as the *lahanga*. The shawl is thrown over the head and is held by the left hand so that when the person is standing erect the face is covered. [301]
On the feet are *ghunghunis*, ankle bracelets, which make a jingling sound.

After putting on the dancing costume, which is usually done right before those present, the dancers go and stand facing the players. If there are several who are to dance they do not necessarily go at the same time, and when they get there they do not keep together in their movements. While one is standing the other may be whirling. The dancers usually stand for some minutes in silence in front of the players who are singing to them and coaxing them to begin their dance. Then the knee is slightly bowed and the dancer begins to whirl. If one starts this movement in a clockwise direction, that direction is apparently followed by all the dancers, and the other direction is not taken. On the other hand, if they begin with the counter-clockwise [823]
movement then that is retained for the evening. On the whole the clockwise movement is favoured and is mostly used, but it is said that there is no hard and fast rule about it. The dancer may turn a number of times, but there is no set number of turns, it must fit into the song. The whirling is not particularly rapid, nor is it done on the heel. Having [533]
completed the revolutions the dancer stops, facing the drummers and the male singers, and begins her song. The men cease from their singing, but accompany her on their drums. As the dancer sings she moves by slow steps first to the left and then to the right, but not more than four or five feet in either direction from the original position. As the feet move the legs are shaken so that the anklets make a jingling sound. As a rule the shawl is held closed by the left hand, but when bending over the left hand is kept free, and it is used along with the

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

535 right hand to make certain movements with the fingers similar to snapping. The accompanying pictures, show something of the nature
535 of the movements described.[1] The singing, which on this particular occasion was at the time of the *gauna*, was said to be *gali* or abuse.
533 The women frequently started a song and sang two or three lines of the same, while the men remained silent except for their instruments. Then the men would answer in two or three lines and the women remain silent, though frequently making movements with the hands, or turning. Finally they all sang together. The men would frequently stop all of a sudden while a woman sang a solo which sometimes came from one and sometimes from the other dancer.

532 ART AND WORKMANSHIP. Our study of the Kols was disappointing in the results it yielded in the field of art, for we found practically no evidence of Kol art. Nothing which they make or draw or paint seems to be characteristic of them alone, and there is little they do in imitation. They do not ordinarily decorate their houses differently from their Hindu neighbours. Occasionally the doorways have a picture representing a peacock, as indicated on plate XX. The peacock motif was also found on the urns where wheat was stored. Certain non-Kol houses, however, sometimes had the same symbol.
[825] There is apparently no taboo connected with the peacock, and the work was said to be entirely decorative. At the *holi* season the walls of the house which face the courtyard are frequently decorated with various figures. Plate XXI gives an idea of how this is done, and the drawing on the wall contains representations of tigers,
[562] peacocks, birds, sunflowers, men, flowers in a pot, and a house. It was said that women and boys do this work, never the men.

463 Kols seem to be deficient in handiworks of any sort. They
285 never make baskets, wooden dishes, *dholaks*, beads nor ornaments;
301 they do no sewing, nor making of clothes nor embroidery work. The
322 mattress makers, the Kathariyas, come the nearest to having a handi-
294 craft, but it is not generally practised even by them. Most Kols will
296 mend clothes, if necessary, and this is mostly done by the men. There is the usual great need for handicrafts so sadly undeveloped in rural
383 India. Occasionally they make their own beds and cots, and rope
312 for them is obtained from the stalks of rice called *bagri*. Such ropes are also used for drawing water from the well. Sometimes they
324 fashion their own grinding mills from flattish stones by a chipping process. The children have no toys with which to play and none are
524 constructed for them by their parents. Boys sometimes make a very
857 inferior type of bow and arrow with which to hunt birds.

1 See plate XIX.